1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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information about particular villages to determine their suitability. Finally, we chose Hsin Hsing village, in Pu Yen Hsiang, Chang-hua Hsien, since of the villages being given final consideration, it was the only one in which housing was available.

At the outset it was difficult to determine the typicality of the village chosen, but Hsin Hsing does not appear to differ significantly from other villages in the area. Like any other village it has its own characteristics, but as far as I could determine, aside from a somewhat smaller average landholding per family compared to other villages of the district, few cultural or social differences of major consequence existed.

For more than sixteen months, during 1957–1958, my wife and I lived in Hsin Hsing, conducting both formal and informal interviews. As residents of the village living in one wing of the home of a former village landlord, we were invited to almost all village functions. By living in the village, we became semiparticipant observers and could observe the daily interaction among people, recognize and identify individuals, and better understand relationships between families and between their members. We actually established reciprocal visiting relationships, much like those the villagers had amongst themselves, with a great many people of Hsin Hsing and some from neighboring villages.

When we moved into the village we were formally introduced to the entire population at a regular village meeting. At that time the village elected leaders, and I told the villagers that I was interested in the customs of the Taiwanese village people. Soon after getting settled, we began the actual study by mapping the village and surveying all the village households to determine the composition of the families. During this survey, we became acquainted with a large number of villagers with whom we talked about village life and some of its problems, gaining some initial insights into the village's economic situation and the similarities and differences among village families.

Although a number of especially articulate villagers were developed as key informants over a period of time, in actuality almost the entire population served as informants. During the early part of the study in Hsin Hsing, interviews were carried on through conversations; most of the data were recorded out of sight of the informants after the interviews were completed. When the informants were fully at ease with us during the later phase of the research period, interviews were recorded on the spot. In order to obtain quantifying data to supplement the unstructured interviews, a limited number of additional surveys and questionnaires were also conducted during this time.

From the very beginning of our stay in Hsin Hsing, the villagers showed great interest in our presence. In a sense, many of them seemed

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cult to establish even as simple a fact as the date of the founding of the village. Much historical and statistical data pertaining to the Hsin Hsing area and maintained by the Japanese have been lost. Only a few documents recording the history of the immediate area still remain; these are generally scattered here and there in local government offices and libraries. Therefore, it was necessary to obtain information from ancestral tablets and interviews with villagers, especially the older people.

On the other hand, a good many official records, documents, and statistics relating to the Hsin Hsing area are available for the period after 1950. These fairly detailed records, usually filed village by village in the district Public Office, include such material as population records and data on land tenure, irrigation, and taxes.

These records, when available, were used extensively to supplement the material gathered through interviews. Often, although material collected on the basis of such interviews represents more attitude than fact, I attempted to compensate for this weakness by using many informants and checking their information with whatever recorded material was available. Thus, by constant comparison and contrast of verbal interviews and recorded material I was able to reconstruct some of the more recent historical events that are important in understanding the development of Hsin Hsing village as a community and as part of the rural structure of Taiwan.

THE STUDY OF A COMMUNITY

In the course of the fieldwork we managed to visit other villages in the area frequently in order to compare them with what we had found in Hsin Hsing. During such visits and other intervillage contacts it was clearly observable that the villagers of Hsin Hsing have many reciprocal relationships with residents of these other villages which they depend upon very much in one way or another—whether for marriage partners, for cooperation in religious activities or irrigation, or for farm labor and the like. On this basis, then, Hsin Hsing village is not unique but is typical of the villages in the general area with which it shares a common cultural and social life.

Nevertheless, we must remain aware of the necessary limitations on generalizing from a single peasant community, or even a whole area, which shares in a Great Tradition or major civilization. It cannot be fully representative of the many cultural and social levels of life of that tradition or civilization. No one village or area can typify Chinese culture or society as a whole. The community study per se cannot be used as a basis for generalizations about all of Chinese culture or even about some specific value or condition in that culture. Its value lies elsewhere.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

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work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

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different ways. The first reaction has been apathy—a reluctance to occupy positions of formal village leadership. The other reaction has been for villagers who have more time and money than their fellows and who may aspire to improve their status, to assume formal village leadership.

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The first reaction is best evidenced by a new problem in recent village elections, and especially in the 1958 election. In six of the twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, there was no candidate for mayor. According to the district officials, the problem in those six villages was that no one was willing to spend the time and money required of the position. Several villagers pointed out that "The office of village mayor must be filled by a person who is not bound to his fields or other work to support his family. He must have an interest in village affairs and enough money to meet the expenses of the traditional functions of the office. He must be able to entertain any public officials or police visiting the village; he must have enough education and social acumen to carry on successfully the necessary relationships with villagers as well as outsiders with whom he is in frequent contact as village head." However, here it may be noted that the office of mayor no longer requires that an individual have a relatively high degree of education and literacy; village records and paper work are now maintained by a minor official from the district Public Office who acts as village secretary.

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In other villages, the reaction to the withdrawal of landlords from participation in village affairs has been that other people have attempted to fill the position of mayor, who is general village leader. In some villages, men who have the basic qualifications for the office, as well as a sincere interest in working for the village, have gained the respect of their fellow villagers and have been successful as mayor and village head.

There are also villages—and Hsin Hsing appears to be one of the few in the area—in which the individuals elected to the office of mayor have failed to win respect or acceptance as village leaders. Although they have the qualifications of money and time, and often were the only candidates in the village, their motives are suspect. The man who was mayor of Hsin Hsing during my stay there is perhaps a good example of this. He is a man whom most of the villagers fear but do not respect. They point to his inadequate education—"He knows very few characters!" They say that he has kept more than one wife at a time by taking other men's wives. They feel that he does not really want to work for the village, but only to increase his own power and status. Nevertheless, in spite of all this, he was elected. The main reason he was elected, apparently, is that he has enough time and money to carry out at least the superficial functions of the office, and

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mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *kan-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsiang* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i;* the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

Siaosiv *and "Adopted Husband" Marriage*

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still relatively important. These forms are especially important to relatively poor villagers, since they offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin Hsing area is what Fei (1939:55), writing about Kaihsienkung on the mainland, refers to as the

siaosiv system, *siaosiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *siaosiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to as the *siaosiv* system, has basically the same form and function. However, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilocal (or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

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girl is already accustomed to the ways of the house, and has probably developed a mother-daughter relationship with the wife of the *chia chang*.

At the time of adoption, the family may have no intention of bringing up a wife for their son, although they may change their minds later. Whereas an apparently definite distinction between simple adoption and adopting a girl as a future wife for a son in the *sioasiv* system of marriage (discussed below) was made by Fei's mainland China Kaihsienkung villagers (1939:53–55), in the Hsin Hsing village area no distinction based on reason for adoption need be made when the girl is adopted. A girl adopted to be a daughter may later be married to the family's son, and a girl adopted as a future wife for a son may ultimately be married out just as if she were the adoptive family's own daughter. And whatever the original intent of the adoption, or what kind of marriage is eventually arranged for her, the girl is usually treated very much as if she were a natural daughter of the family that adopted her. It is for this reason that I have treated both kinds of adoption under the same general heading.

A family which offers its daughter for adoption must usually give the adopting family a payment of "milk money" at the time of adoption, whether the girl is to be a regular daughter or the future wife of a son of the new family. Both the natal and adopting families consider themselves to be *ch'in ch'i* as a result of the adoption. In fact, when the girl reaches marriageable age the adopting family will frequently consult with her natal family about the potential husband and the marriage negotiations. In many such instances the affinal relationships then become a three-way affair between the girl's natal family, the adopting family, and her husband's family.

When the girl is definitely being adopted into a family as a servant, her family will often be given some money as recompense for the loss of her services. In these cases, the girl is usually at least eight or nine when adopted, old enough to be immediately trained and do useful work in her new home. The Chinese law in Taiwan recognizes such adoptions; however, it recognizes the girls as adopted daughters (*yang nu*), not servants, and stipulates that they must be well treated and be married out at marriageable age. When a girl is adopted to be a servant, there is obviously little likelihood that the two families will maintain a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, since the adoption is recognized as a purely business transaction. Such adoptions are no longer as common as they used to be, although they still take place among some rich, rural people. The sister of the former large landlord in Hsin Hsing had been "given such a girl as a wedding present." The practice is especially common in market towns and cities where girls are "sold" to wealthy families as servants or where they are adopted by a family to be hired out to houses of prostitution or bars.

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a few instances in which boys were older when adopted, and of the eighteen adoptions recorded in the village, three boys were under a year old and most of the remaining were under four when adopted. 597

Although the records show such a boy as a *yang tsu* (adopted son) his surname is legally changed to that of his adopting family. He may never be told about his natal home or his real family, since his extreme youth at the time of adoption makes it possible to keep the identity of his own family a secret from him. If the boy does find out, as sometimes happens, who his own family is, his adoptive family may attempt to prevent him from visiting them for fear he might refuse to come back or transfer his allegiance to his own natal family and thus refuse to be obedient. [551]

In Hsin Hsing a poor, childless couple, having adopted a young boy, later adopted a young girl with the intention of marrying the two. This boy, who was a bit older than usual when adopted, managed to learn who his natal family was and insisted on visiting them. He found that his brothers had recently become fairly well-off financially, and he entertained ideas of returning there permanently. His adoptive parents, fearful that their plans and future security would be upset, beat him and forbade him to visit his natal home. The boy's natal family could or would not do anything to interfere with the authority of the adoptive family, and he had to remain with his new parents.

For similar reasons, and because adoption of a boy is considered a business arrangement, the two families do not maintain *ch'in ch'i* or other relations between themselves. However, in a few cases in Hsin Hsing where the two families were previously friends or *ch'in tsu*, or were fellow villagers, the relationship was maintained, and there was little attempt to keep the truth from the boy. Of the eighteen cases of boy adoption in Hsin Hsing, in five of them both families were from Hsin Hsing, though almost all were adoptions between unrelated villagers. However, when I was about to leave the village, plans were being made for the adoption of an infant son between the families of two brothers who had formerly been the large landlords in the village. The older brother had four sons and three daughters, while the younger brother was childless. No money was to be paid, and, of course, the adoption would not be kept secret from the boy when he grew up. [612]

The villagers consider the adoption of a patrilateral nephew as a son an ideal form of adoption, but it is nevertheless rare. Usually, only large, wealthy families which have a strong regard for the traditional ideal of the joint family plus the means to maintain the ideal patterns are in a position to arrange such adoptions. The average village family, as we have seen, is usually weak in landholdings, financial resources, and numbers. It is generally of the conjugal type. In such 597 604 184

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families, neither of two brothers is likely to have enough sons or sufficient financial stability to risk giving up the potential income and future security a son represents by allowing even a brother to adopt a male child. These small village families generally find it impossible to manifest many of the patterns of the traditional family ideal, with the result that son adoption in the Hsin Hsing village area usually takes place between families which are not related by blood.

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complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*fa shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

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when their son is absent may cause irreparable harm to family relationships.

There are a few cases in Hsin Hsing and other villages in the area where an early marriage was arranged because a boy was to be called into the army. These are usually small families which must replace the loss of a son's labor with that of his wife. While the girl may not be able to perform as well as the man, the family tries to choose a strong, capable, and obedient girl who knows farming and whom they feel they can control during her husband's absence.

In recent years another factor which has played an important though not so direct a part in the postponement of marriage has been the increased economic value of girls. A daughter now can contribute substantially to the family income. She may earn money as a seamstress at home, as a field laborer during weeding operations or harvests, or even as a factory laborer in the city. Her marriage now means an economic loss to the family, and it is therefore not unusual for parents to postpone the event for some time. A pretty and capable daughter of one of the K'ang families was not married until she was almost twenty-three-years-old. When she was finally about to be married, her father said that he had held off arranging her marriage as long as possible because she had contributed much to the family income by sewing.

As noted earlier, the emphasis on the importance of family continuity requires that marriages be carefully arranged. However, the interpretation of what is a careful and good method of marriage arrangement has been changing through the years, and today, it is quite different from what it was early in the century. Forty to fifty years ago the arrangements were made solely on the word of a marriage broker, and not even the parents saw the prospective spouse of their son or daughter. Today, it is common for the couple to get a glimpse of each other and, in addition, to have some part in the decision as to the desirability of the marriage.

One of the first changes in the system was that the parents, instead of depending completely on the word of the matchmaker, began to insist on seeing the prospective bride or groom and the family in order to have a sounder basis for making a decision. The matchmaker was asked to effect a meeting of the two sets of parents, at which there were delicate and indirect discussions about their respective families and the possible marriage. Of course final decisions were not made until the matchmaker had discussed privately with each family the other's attributes and transmitted proposals and counter-proposals about the engagement gifts and dowry. At the same time both families took the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the other family from neighbors and friends. The young people had little to do with either discussion or decision.

In the past seven or eight years it has become possible for the young

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the ancestors are all considered both important and fundamental to correct behavior. Aptly expressing a rather general feeling, one villager said, "Everyone knows it's natural to act this way. What other way is there to act?"

The development of this attitude is promoted chiefly by examples in everyday life which are a part of a child's general upbringing. Children are frequently told stories which emphasize the rewards of filial and virtuous behavior. The scrolls displayed and the stories told by the *tao shih* during funerals (see Chapter 7) contribute greatly to the indoctrination. In addition, the use of formal kinship terminology constantly reminds children of the importance of proper behavior towards their superiors or elders. Terms of respect (utilizing kinship terminology) which take into account the relative age and generation of all relatives and even friends and neighbors are learned early and indicate the way one person is expected to act toward another.

Children and adults are also constantly reminded of the "moral way" by door hangings whose elaborate calligraphy exhorts them to proper behavior as well as wishing them good fortune. While most villagers cannot actually read the characters, they know what they mean. These scrolls are usually purchased in Lukang; nowadays many of them bear anti-Communist, nationalistic slogans which mean little to most of the villagers who buy them.

The schools consistently emphasize many of the basic traditional moral values. Textbooks present stories about acts of filial piety or respect for elders and those in authority and emphasize the value of reasonableness, compromise, and cooperation, and, of course, patriotism and even extreme nationalism. In addition, special topics or themes are stressed during certain weeks. For example, the schools observe "filial piety week," during which they stress obedience and respect for age, teachers, and parents. Other weeks are devoted to the importance of love and charity, respect for country, and the national flag. Thus, we find the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism constantly reaffirmed in everyday life.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, which is closely related to Confucianism and the mystique of filial piety, and whose rituals actually reinforce it, is a form of religious belief to which virtually all Hsin Hsing area villagers adhere. The believers are not, however, in agreement about the effect ancestors have on the lives of their descendants. Many in Hsin Hsing do not agree that ancestors provide positive aid to their descendants, but few would deny the misfortunes that are sure to fall if neglected ancestors vengefully fail to protect their unfilial descendants from the many negative spirits.

Since ancestral spirits live in the other world much as they did in

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offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The situation developed largely when the traditional land tenure system was modified by Taiwan's Land Reform Program between 1949–1953. An important aspect of the reform was the initiation of a rent reduction and limitation law, but even more important was the introduction of an official contract between landlord and tenant which secured the tenant's rights on the land whatever the relationship, good or bad *kan-ch'ing*, he had with the landlord. The contract for the first time made it clear that the relationship between landlord and tenant and their mutual responsibilities were economic. Once their interaction was limited to an economic relationship as circumscribed by an official contract, it was no longer as important whether either party concerned himself with the traditional maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing*.

Thus, in addition to the already discussed decline of some landlords' socioeconomic and even political interests in the village as a result of the land reform, the deterioration in the basis of *kan-ch'ing*, and with it the prestige of many in the landlord class, has frequently meant that unless landlords who remained in the village had other ways of maintaining their high positions in the community, they lost their usefulness as mediators, being no longer capable of exerting influence and leadership in the community.

On the kinship level, the code which regulated relationships between hierarchal unequals has likewise been affected by change, thus worsening the community's ability to resolve local social conflict. This has occurred on the levels of the *tsu* and even, to some degree, the family. In conflict within the *tsu* or village, as well as beyond the village, the *tsu* organizations through their leaders have always played a role in settling all conflict by mediation. While the several Hsin Hsing *tsu* have never been powerful organizations backed by extremely wealthy members and wealth in corporate land usually necessary to give them extensive local sociopolitical influence, *tsu* authority has recently been further weakened, as we have seen above, by the extension of the villagers' socioeconomic interests beyond the home area. As a result, even the *tsu* have apparently lost much of their ability to exert sanctions against their own members or their opponents. Thus, as a result of the weakening of the social hierarchy, there has developed a more general inability to use the former traditional respect for particular leaders of the landlord class or *tsu* as a force with which to settle disagreements.

It is not purely a matter of the weakening of the traditional hierarchical relationships between people, however, which has diminished the respect for traditional mediators. This has been intensified by the tendency toward a growing equalitarianism on both the social and economic levels of life among the villagers. The tendency was born of greater educational opportunities, increased election of officials, land

1:Gallin E[illegible],5 (1957-1958) 1966
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People's Republic of China AF18
Taiwan AD6

T 558 178 184 621 627 [556]

redistribution, and land contracts, all of which have helped to equalize economic means and social relations. While this has not stopped the peasants from recognizing the former landlords' higher status and power, their willingness to accept them as mediators has clearly diminished, as has this formerly powerful group's interests in such community service.

T 621 627 178 [558]

The loss of prestige and authority of the traditional mediators, and thus the decline of success of mediation, has also been accompanied by a questioning of a principle aim of mediation—that the goal of the conflict resolution is to enable the people concerned to continue to live harmoniously together.

T [433] [67]

Many local villagers are no longer so strongly wedded to the village as a result of their newly developing relations with the greater market economy and the increased economic opportunities for migration to cities. For example, one consequence is that they are no longer concerned with settling disputes with the idea of solely preserving harmonious relations locally. While this is still very important for many people, it is no longer practically universal.

T 178 621 628 [618]

Thus, as a result of the greater society's impingement on village life and, at the same time, the villagers' economic need for involvement beyond the village area, the village and even the kinship groups now have difficulty in maintaining themselves as the villagers' source of solidarity and identification. The villagers' response is actively and consciously to reach out beyond the village and even the *tsu*, not particularly for political power as the gentry always did, but primarily for the socioeconomic reinforcement of their security. As the villager is more and more forced to reach beyond the village, the effect is to further weaken his identification with his village and to a lesser extent with his local kinship group, thus necessitating his even further dependency on and need of the outside.

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It appears that such a breakdown of traditional village and kinship relationships has long been going on in much of rural China as a result of some form of urban contacts. Such social change has been accelerated even more markedly in mainland China under the Communists during this last decade and a half. The more extreme breakdown of such traditional village, kinship, and family relationships now apparently taking place on the mainland of China has been attributed to the introduction of communism and its ideological attack on such traditional Chinese concepts as the large family and kinship group. However, taking the situation in Taiwan as an analogy it appears likely that such developments are equally attributable to the urbanization and socioeconomic changes of the twentieth century, speeded up through the methods employed by the Chinese Communists rather

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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at all important by the residents of the fishing village she is studying. This is interesting, since the villagers spend so much time on the sea.

[5] Some villagers say that people with such an illness could be sent to a hospital in the city, but "people don't come back from there."

[6] Most of the villagers at least do not disbelieve in the possibility of witchcraft. Although it is not considered to be a common practice any more, on occasion a person may employ a powerful *fa shih* to cast a spell on someone whom he wishes to harm. In addition, some villagers feel that the same effect can be achieved if the nail cuttings of the intended victim are burned. Thus, when the villagers cut their finger nails, they may spread them about so that they will not be noticed by others.

and under no circumstances may she marry a member of her foster family or a member of their lineage. Her position in the family is the same as if she had been born into it. The girl who is adopted as a daughter-in-law always takes her foster familiy's surname as her own, but rather than entirely dropping her natal family's name she retains it in the second position, the same as a married woman. She is usually committed to marry some particular member of her foster family, and is perhaps best thought of as an unmarried bride of the family. The girl who is adopted as a domestic servant does not in any way alter her kinship status as a result of the adoption. She retains the surname of her natal family as well as her original status with regard to marriage. She may later marry a member of her foster family, but the adoption does not commit her to such a marriage. She is an adopted daughter only in the limited sense that her parents have transferred jural authority over her to another family for some specified period of time.

In Southern and Central Taiwan adopted females occupying these three statuses are referred to by different terms. A girl who is adopted as a daughter of her foster family is spoken of as a lȏng-lù, simply an "adopted daughter;" a girl who is adopted to marry a son of her foster family is referred to with the term sĩn-pû̀, "little daughter-in-law;" and a girl who is adopted as a domestic is spoken of as cĩ-bȏ-kàn, a "female servant." In the case of Hsiachichou and Northern Taiwan generally, however, these terminological distinctions are not consistently observed. Girls who are committed to marrying sons of their foster parents and those who are adopted as daughters of the

four hundred dollars required to buy an adopted daughter is relatively cheap insurance. There are also professional dealers in such urban areas as Taipei who buy girls of twelve or thirteen years of age and then sell them to wine houses or brothels. Such transactions often require registering the girl as an adopted daughter in order to conceal the true reason for her change of residence. Li Teng-Yu reported in 1943 that of the 162 girls working in three brothels in Taipei, 139 were registered as adopted daughters.[2] The result has been that the lâng-lù form of adoption has become so suspect that many people will not consider giving a daughter in adoption to a family who does not intend to marry the girl to one of their own sons. According to a stereotype popular in Hsiachichou, it is only the very poor who will give a daughter in adoption as a lâng-lù because they are the only people who care about the small difference in the amount of bride price, but like most stereotypes this one is misleading. The correlation between wealth and the likelihood of a family's giving a daughter in adoption as a lâng-lù is primarily a result of the fact that the wealthy are more concerned about face. When they are reasonably sure that the girl is not to be sold into prostitution, a poor family will give a daughter in adoption as a lâng-lù. Having little face, they have little to lose. A wealthy family, on the other hand, will not consider such an adoption regardless of the circumstances. Having face, they must be concerned to keep it untarnished.

The adoption of cî-bó-kàn was never very common in the village of Hsiachichou. In the years before World War II the villagers were too

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2 Li Teng-yu, "sîm-pûà to lâng-lù" (sîm-pûà and lâng-lù), Minzoku Taiwan, Vol. 4, No. 11 (1943), p. 17.

poor to adopt a child simply to aid with household chores, and in the post-war years government regulations have discouraged those few families who might have considered such an adoption. Our concern here will therefore be primarily with four forms of adoption, two forms of male adoption and two forms of female adoption. Since English does not provide vocabulary adequate for labeling these institutions, we will have to employ the Chinese terminology in order to avoid long and clumsy paraphrasing. The adoption of a male child from an agnate, we will refer to as the kho-páng-kià: form of adoption, and the adoption of a male child from a non-agnate, the biēng-liōng-kià: form of adoption. The form of adoption which makes a female child a potential wife of a son of the adopting family we will term the sīm-pûà form of adoption, or the sim-pua form of marriage, since it is both; and the form of adoption which gives a female child the same status she would have had if she had been born into the family we will refer to as the lông-lû form of adoption, although it must be remembered that in Hsiachichou adopted daughters of this kind are more commonly referred to as sīm-pûà and are treated ritually as though they were sīm-pûà.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

structure of their ideal is complete. Instead of housing a single, united family, the wings are filled with independent units, each with its own stove, each having broken from the main family at the time of a brother's marriage or a father's death. Instead of a large house, the structure can only be properly described as a compound, for in some of the older houses the families are related to each other only three or four generations back. Two families have kept the ideal after the death of their fathers. One is a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation. Before we left the village, however, one of the brothers had been transferred to a town too far away to return home more than once a week. His wife, knowing only too well how much business is contracted in what might be called Taiwanese night clubs, packed up her children and the furniture of her dowry and went to join him. Although the division was made with little fuss and continued good will, it was still recognized as a "dividing of the stove." The only family still retaining the eminence of being united under one authority when we left Peihotien was that of Lim Chieng-cua. This is the family with whom we lived and about whom the rest of this book is concerned. [121]

Lim Chieng-cua and his siblings were born and grew up in a small mud house much like their neighbors. In time a good many improvements were made in the house, but the family really wanted a new one, not additions and improvements. Lim Chieng-cua once told me, "Before we built this new house, we had a mud house with a thatch roof. Every time there was a typhoon my father and my older brother's wife and I had to stay up all night to tie the roof down so it wouldn't blow off. Oh, how badly we wanted a new house! We changed two rooms of the mud house to brick, we had a good kitchen, a room for bathing and a big wooden tub for heating bath water. We even had a hand pump and hardly anyone had a pump in those days, but our hearts weren't satisfied. Now we have a good brick house, and yet every time I see a better house, I wish we had a better one too." [515] [406]

It is characteristic of Lim Chieng-cua and his father that when they built their new house it was not quite like any other house in the village. It was a traditional house and in every way worthy of respect.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

but it was undeniably different. At that time the family was not particularly large: Lim Chieng-cua was not yet married and his elder brother wasn't living at home. Speculative neighbors might have expected the Lims to build the usual bottom wing of the U, adding a new wing, if their prosperity continued, when Lim Chieng-cua married. Instead, the Lims built a truly large house, a house that is still the largest in Peihotien. Due to the unusual individuality that has given the Lims a reputation for wisdom and leadership—a habit of seeing as important the same things as their neighbors but not feeling required to follow the conventional paths to their goals—Lim Chieng-cua and his father departed slightly from the usual practice. Rather than building a U-shaped house, they built their house in the form of a hollow square, leaving a small open courtyard in the center. The front of the square, however, deviated in no way from the conventional base for a U-shaped structure, even to the doorways for expansion at each end. They surrounded the house and the drying ground in front with a dignified brick wall, a useful addition in the city, but one rarely found in the northern villages now that bandit attacks are no longer feared. They also built a long, handsome brick pig pen, a final touch which both amused and awed their neighbors.

The Lims' guest hall is quite a large room, as it would have to be to retain proper proportions with the rest of the house. It is floored with lovely terrazzo, neatly and soberly. The floor is swept more often than in the other rooms and mopped every week or so. Puddles left by diaperless children are cleaned up fairly quickly, and concerted effort keeps the chickens and ducks from seeking shelter there. When we first moved into the house, there was no ceiling in the guest hall. The whitewashed walls stretched up to heavy beams richly darkened by years of incense smoke. Unfortunately, in his restless desire to improve and change, Lim Chieng-cua added a ceiling to the room. His neighbors consider it attractive, but I missed the stark dignity of those beams.

The Lims' guest hall is simply furnished, far more simply than their income requires. The prosperous families of Peihotien buy heavy, overstuffed chairs covered in plastic. In summer they are a torment to sit on for more than a few minutes, and in winter they smell musty and develop miniature landscapes of mold. The Lims, whether from modesty or from a more developed sense of comfort, retain the old rattan chairs that are comfortable year around. The family altar is another matter. Modesty here would not be a virtue: a

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

man is expected to provide his ancestors with the best he can possibly manage. The Lim altar is tastefully simple, but of excellent wood and careful carving. The top is cluttered with the usual collection of ugly vases, gaudy lanterns, fussy brass candle holders, an elaborately carved wooden stand to hold the half-moon-shaped divining blocks, and some delicate pewter wine cups used only to offer drink to the gods and ancestors. Besides the ancestral tablets, the altar also holds two glass boxes containing images of the Goddess of Mercy and Tu Ti Kung. The latter are only decoration. Although they have vague protective powers, they are not imbued with the significance of the images residing in temples. On the wall behind the altar are a picture of the Eight Immortals and a large panel covered with the character for long life repeated in its hundred different forms. The only other decorations in the room are a Chinese painting on a scroll and various inscriptions painted or pasted over doors and windows to insure the family's good health, prosperity, and fertility.

When my husband and I moved into the Lim family home, we were delighted to be given as our sleeping room the tiny room directly in back of the family altar. The room is separated from the guest hall by only half a wall topped by a lattice screen. There was little chance of our sleeping through any of the religious ceremonies performed at dawn or during the night. Much to my surprise, the sleeping room that should have housed the head of the family became our office. It had been empty since the death of Lim Chieng-cua's father. Later, when I came to understand the structure and tensions of the family, I was impressed by Lim Chieng-cua's discretion, and the diplomacy with which he had solved a vexing problem. At the time, I was simply pleased at the ease with which we had inserted ourselves into the very center of a Taiwanese family. We had little peace and quiet, and no privacy, but for our purposes the situation was ideal.

The remainder of the Lim's front wing is taken up with sleeping rooms—Lim Chieng-cua and his wife and six children on one side, his elder brother's widow, Lim A-pou, her married son and his family on the other. At one end, in a room that would have been the kitchen in a smaller house, is the dining room, one of the few in the village. Its elegance is confined to its title. Though fairly large, the room is cluttered with crocks of pickled vegetables, the big rice bin, a foot-treadle sewing machine, and odds and ends of farm equipment. In the center of the room is a high, round eating table with an assortment of tall stools around it. The stools are drawn from those stacked in the

Earth God Temple

796 According to C. K. Yang, T'u Ti Kung (God of Earth)
• [184] is a universal cult found in all Chinese villages and
towns and having special importance for local neighborhoods
798 (1961:98). Almost every small community in Taiwan has a
small shrine dedicated to T'u Ti Kung and a few larger
communities have large and elaborate shrines. Sanlei's
shrine is near the village border next to Erhlei, not a
convenient location but one which has powerful feng shui
[346] coordinates. The brick temple is very small, about four
[532] feet square and three feet high with a peaked roof. In-
side is T'u Ti Kung's statue and a stone incense pot.

796 It is necessary to digress for a moment to discuss
religious attitudes. Spiritual beings include gods (shen)
which are good divine powers, beings who bless those who
worship them; and spirits or devils (kuei) which are malev-
olent divine powers, beings who either bring harm or remain
neutral, i.e., withhold bestowal of blessings. Ancestors
may be considered spirits until they demonstrate benevo-
lence and if they are appropriately revered, ancestors will
not cause harm. However, the status of any supernatural
being is subject to change, gods may become spirits and
vice versa (Thelen and Li, 1963:44). The whole pantheon
of gods and spirits, as previously stated, is organized
much like the traditional government of Imperial China.
[184] Although there is great regional variation in details

776 there are hundreds of gods arranged hierarchically so
• [184] that important gods have both attendants and troops. A villager approaches the gods much as he does ordinary governmental officials, i.e., gods and officials alike can be bribed, coaxed, tricked, etc., for gods are neither omniscient nor omnipresent.

T'u Ti Kung is the god in charge of the local community and thus, ranks low in the hierarchy. Villagers describe his status as somewhat similar to the local policeman. He keeps track of local events: births, deaths, farm production, business enterprises, marriages, etc., and has the power to influence the acquisition of
776 wealth. Therefore, supplications are made to him by farm-
782 ers before planting and thanks are given to him after harvesting. Some of the regular periodic religious events require worship at the T'u Ti Kung temple as well as the main temple and one event is devoted to his temple and the home. Some households make sacrifices at the Earth God temple as a regular part of their bi-monthly worship (1st and 15th or 2nd and 16th). About seven or eight times each month (estimated) individual villagers perform unscheduled worship activities for personal reasons at the T'u Ti Kung temple.

782 The usual form of worship is to face the altar, light three incense sticks, bow the head, hold the sticks between the two closed hands palms touching at chest level,

183 791 787 There is a final kind of service that religious practitioners provide for community residents although few villagers would be likely to admit it explicitly, i.e., they provide justification for social acts which might be contrary to community standards or which might otherwise create difficulties in interpersonal relations. For instance, assume a family wants to give up a daughter in adoption but also does not want to create an impression that they are releasing her because the family can not afford her support. If a shaman of some kind orders the adoption, the family can accomplish it without censure by claiming the gods wishes must be obeyed. Someone can be found to interpret the god's desires in a manner so that anything and everything can be justified.

A Fire Purification Ceremony

796 783 As an extended case study, I will present an account of a non-cyclical but important religious event held in [171] Sanlei in November of 1966. The ceremony was entitled the "Fire Purification of the Gods" and differs only in minor details from that described by DeGroot for Mainland China (1892-1910). The essential part of the ceremony is ritual purification of the gods by carrying them through a fire of god's paper money in sedan chairs carried by bearers who are ritually clean and have no foot coverings.

[171] [184] [178] Similar ceremonies have occurred throughout Taiwan periodically with strong evidence they have increased in

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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frequency during the past twenty-five years, probably for two different reasons. One reason is related to the recent increased prosperity. Although people seem to greatly enjoy the big festivals, they are very expensive. With the increased prosperity, there are both more ceremonies such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" and greater participation together with increased expenditures on regular ceremonies.

The second reason is more explicitly related to the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in particular for the ceremony is considered partially a response to crises and change. During these past twenty-odd years there have been many significant events in Taiwan such as a change in the official government and a multitude of cultural and social changes accompanying the expanding economy. Moreover, there is a constant fear of a Taiwanese attack on the Mainland or a Communist attack on Taiwan. Consequently, there have been four "Fire Purification Ceremonies" in Talei Li in the past twenty-five years, two of them during our eighteen month period of study and one of the remaining two, the previous year.

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Carrying a god's statue through the sacred fire after proper ritual purifies it and helps make the god more powerful and thereby, temporarily raises the rank of the temple in which the god resides. Higher rank will bring more people to the temple to worship and the more people

585 wedding of an adopted-in husband is nearly the mirror image of this, the wedding feast held at the home of the bride.

*184 585 Of course, many marriages are not this elaborate. In the case of a marriage between very poor people, many older people living alone, or if between a son and adopted daughter, there may be no marriage party or ritual recognition at all. Villagers refer to these kinds of marriage 587 as "putting the shoes under the bed" (See Glossary C). The latter type is also common for remarriage after divorce or death of a spouse for there is some disapproval of a second marriage, but nevertheless, everyone agrees a man or woman with small children must remarry fairly quickly. Only 586 people with older children regularly fail to remarry. In a divorce, children are expected to remain with the father or, if he was an adopted-in husband, shared between father and mother.

587 The remarriage of a widow with children is expected to be with an adopted-in husband. By bearing a child, a woman has been fully incorporated into her first husband's family who will therefore probably play a part in the selection of the second husband. The second husband agrees to provide financial support for her previous children and if she had had several (which would likely reduce her marriage prospects), one may be given in adoption to a second husband as a marriage inducement.

587 763 There is no long period of mourning holding up a remarriage. The day after the funeral of a miner killed in

833 of sex. Sexual foreplay includes nibbling, blowing, and
[832] manipulation of erogenous zones. The only common position is the classical "man on top." Intercourse continues while physically possible but the frequency declines with age.

837 There are a few women whose husbands are unable to satisfy them. Currently, there are three such women in the village who have assignations regularly with other village men, two with a regular partner, while the third is insatiable. People say her husband is impotent. If the latter woman has relationships with any reasonably happy married man, his wife gets very angry as has happened several times and once there was a hair-pulling and scratching fight. Illicit sex within the village is usually in the mountain fields and almost never in a village house.

837 Although men in some Taiwanese villages frequent the
548 wine houses[4] in the city (Wolf, 1965), this characteristic
184 is absent in Sanlei. One man in Erhlei is a habitue how-
[275] ever and everyone knows about it but most of the criticism directed at him is not on a moral basis; rather, he is considered foolish for wasting his money. A few li girls who have become prostitutes in town return for visits and festivals but do not practice their trade in the village. They are not morally condemned and are welcomed at all li affairs.

842 Old methods of birth control included the use of herbal solutions by women and coitus interruptus by men

Death and Beyond

76 128 184 Death and burial have often been described for Chinese communities (Gallin, 1966:219-30; Fei, 1939:75-9; M. Yang, 1945:86-90; C. K. Yang, 1967:28-53). Although there are regional differences, significant elements are reasonably similar in Sanlei and due to limited space, the below account will not be detailed nor elaborate. Instead, remarks are restricted to particular local variations not adequately described in the literature or to those which bear directly on the problem focus of the paper. The reader is referred to the literature for more complete accounts.

764 Death ritual varies in accordance with age, sex, marital situation, the number of descendants, and the financial status of the family. In general, the greater the wealth, age, and/or number of descendants, the larger and 766 more elaborate the ceremony. As already stated, death before reaching the first thirty days of age is not ritualized at all and the death of a child at any age is seldom accom- 761 panied by any ceremony. There is considerable resentment 562 directed against a male who lived some years but died before producing offspring for villagers claim he has cheated his parents by failing to repay their investment in him with grandchildren. There is no corresponding attitude toward the early death of females unless they have only a few siblings, none of whom are males, and in this case, the resentment is related to the fact that there were plans for an

121 school board official, etc. It is further demonstrated
562 that although changes leading to increased status for women
[178] are in process, even at the time when the village was originally established, women were playing roles similar to those found today, i.e., the changes are quantitative rather than qualitative in most respects. In summary, Sanlei Ts'un is not congruent with the patterns portrayed in the traditional literature.

121 As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, this
• 184 deviancy from traditional patterns might be explained on
562 the basis that Sanlei was not like most Chinese communities. In order to refute these possibilities, Sanlei was tested for its degree of uniqueness by comparing it with other Chinese communities in space and time. Women's labor was found to be important in most rural Chinese communities and special tasks in cottage or factory industries or in connection with certain crops such as tea or silk were commonly assigned to women in many other communities. In any major attribute such as the value of labor contribution, family size, practice of religion, etc., Sanlei did not appear to be unique. That is, the village was a unique combination but the general patterns were found in many other villages whether separated by time or by space. Rates of some items varied (when provided) but such practices as adopted-in husbands, neolocal residence, girls fleeing to the city for work, etc., were found everywhere. Sanlei did not seem